

The Sun

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consideration was a rank usurpation of the rights of the people.

But this act of usurpation, if it be such, is no more offensive to a free people than to the people of a democracy than would be the assumption of the United States Senate to ratify or to refuse to ratify the Wilson League covenant. The business of concluding peace with Germany should be separated from the League with a broad, as if there is no better way, and thus be disposed of independently of the covenant.

Fortunately, a Presidential election is near at hand, and no tribunal short of the vote of the whole country is adequate for the decision of a question of the surpassing, the supreme importance of this.

Therefore, before it gets a strangle hold on the nation, the covenant should be referred to the people of the country themselves to decide what they wish done with it, and we may be sure that their decision would be the decision they wish to have prevail, and, better, the right decision.

The Voters Spoke to Murphy in Language He Understands.

The head of the Republican ticket, Major LA GUARDIA, seems to have carried the Greater City—the city which gave a plurality of 258,000 to the Democrat Smith only a year ago. The voters of the First Judicial district have rebuked MURPHY in the most telling way by giving the most votes to NEWBURN, who was put aside by the Tammany boss, and the fewest to UNTERMYER, MURPHY's personal candidate. Not only does NEWBURN remain on the bench but Major McCook, his colleague on the Republican ticket, is also elected a Justice of the Supreme Court.

Tammany Hall seems to have saved from the wreck two of its favorites. With JAMES A. FOLEY in the Surrogate's Court and EDWARD F. BOYLE, President of the Borough of Manhattan all of MURPHY's cup is not vinegar. These were candidates whose professional qualifications for the offices they sought were not denied. The Democratic voters picked and chose; no UNTERMYER for them.

Brooklyn has repudiated the Democratic party almost entirely. In that borough BOSS MCCOY had no Governor SMITH to inject new life into the ticket. MURPHY very adroitly took advantage of the Governor's dramatic assault on HEARNST and by making a popular Democrat a part of the local campaign he perhaps saved FOLEY and BOYLE.

The analyst can read in the election figures for Manhattan and The Bronx the revolt of an intelligent electorate against an attempt to play with the courts. In Brooklyn, and in the city at large, he can read various signs of dissatisfaction, not only with the methods of the local Democratic party but with general conditions under Democratic mismanagement and extravagance.

When a Republican on a straight Republican ticket carries a city which normally is so Democratic that it gave a plurality of 157,000 to JOHN F. HYLAN it makes food for thought in Washington. And in some parts of the capital no lips will be smacked over the dish.

It would have been a day of honor for this town if nothing more had been accomplished than the election of NEWBURN and the defeat of UNTERMYER. But the people went further and covered themselves with glory. They did things which no Boss will forget.

Lincoln on the Dignity and Inalienable Rights of Free Labor.

The SUN referred the other day to MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS's citation of ABRAHAM LINCOLN in support of the general attitude of trade unionism, as represented by MR. GOMPERS, toward the orderly processes of our industrial system and the interests of the community. What MR. GOMPERS said was this:

"It is still more strange that a nation which may be justly proud of its ABRAHAM LINCOLN should now reverse the application of the great truth he enunciated when he said that as between capital and labor labor should receive that and foremost consideration."

A friend in Massachusetts has kindly indicated to us the whereabouts of the utterance by LINCOLN which the president of the American Federation has thus perverted in its essence and application.

In March of 1864 the Workingmen's Association of New York elected MR. LINCOLN to honorary membership. In accepting that membership the President read a passage from his first annual message to Congress, in December, 1861, of which the subjoined paragraphs were a part:

"It is not needed, nor fitting here, that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions; but there is one point, with its connections, not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask a brief attention. It is the effort to place capital on an equal footing with, if not above, labor, in the structure of the government. It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else, owning capital, somehow by the use of it induces him to labor. This *assumes* it, it is next considered whether it is best that capital shall *induce* labor, and thus induce them to work by their own consent, or buy them, and drive

them to it without their consent. Having proceeded so far, it is naturally concluded that all laborers are either hired laborers or what we call slaves. And further, it is assumed that whoever is once a hired laborer is fixed in that condition for life."

"Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights. Nor is it denied that there is, and probably always will be, a relation between capital and labor producing mutual benefits."

"Again, as has already been said, there is not, of necessity, any such thing as the free hired laborer being fixed to that condition for life. Many independent men everywhere in these States, a few years back in their lives, were hired laborers."

This is the just and generous and prosperous system which opens the way to all—gives hope to all, and consequent energy and progress and improvement of condition to all."

Mr. LINCOLN's thesis is apparent at a glance. He was presenting the fundamental truths of our economic and social system. Neither in the remarks quoted above nor in anything that follows is there a word warranting the twist which MR. GOMPERS has so adroitly attempted to give to the utterance, namely, that when the great American, the great human and humane philosopher, spoke of the superiority of "labor" to capital, the labor he meant was organized labor undertaking to dictate to the rest of the community.

Having quoted from his own remarks primarily suggested by the issue between slave labor and free labor at the beginning of the civil war, MR. LINCOLN, speaking from the point of view of 1864 when slave labor had been emancipated by his memorable act, continued his sound advice to the workingmen who had gone to the White House to honor him:

"The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations and tongues and kindreds. Nor should this lead to a war on property, or the owners of property. Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable; it is a positive good in the world. That some should be rich shows that others may become rich, and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise. Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built."

We can conceive of no better advice to the individual laborer than that which is contained in these concluding words of ABRAHAM LINCOLN's address to the New York workmen more than half a century ago. There is nothing in his philosophy of labor that can give comfort to the Poets or the Gomperses in any effort either to overthrow government and substitute mob rule in this country, or to erect within our government a super-government controlled by themselves.

In the case of MR. GOMPERS's adroit perversion of LINCOLN's utterances, as in all similar cases, the trick is to identify labor in the broad economic sense with "labor" in the narrow Gompersian sense. It will not work with intelligent Americans. They must know what ABRAHAM LINCOLN would have done to the preachers of revolution and anarchy of the sort advocated in FOSTER's red pamphlet. They can imagine what he would have done to the attitude and course toward GOMPERS or any leader of organized labor encouraging, actively or passively, defiance of the law and resistance of the orders of the courts.

We observe with satisfaction the evidence that even within the ranks of organized labor the sound view of its responsibilities and real interests—the Lincolnian view, not the Gompersian view—is gaining strength and courage. Utterances like that which we copy in another column from the *Railroad Employee of Newark* give reason for hope. As the *Railroad Employee* expresses it, "It is high time that the reputable and responsible element within the ranks of organizations of labor denounce the prevailing spirit of brigandage in no uncertain terms." The definite advocacy of the establishment of a basis of legal responsibility on the part of the employed, enabling contracts to be made which shall not be on one side mere scraps of paper, is a notable and encouraging manifestation of American fairness and common sense.

Why This Moderation?

In addition to the now familiar demands for a 60 per cent. increase in wages, a six hour day and a five day week, there are other demands made by the striking coal miners which reveal a further profit for them from a five day week. If, for example, such an emergency arises as would require a production of coal larger than could be mined by one shift working six hours five days a week, further demands are that "for emergency work there shall be paid time and a half for overtime and double wages for work done on holidays and Sundays, Saturday to be regarded as a holiday."

It should be understood, moreover, that the six hour day does not mean six hours of work as the eight hour day meant eight hours of work; for the new scale is six hours "bank to bank." This means from the time the miner arrives at the mouth of the mine to the time he returns there,

the eight hours—face to face—were all at mining coal.

The scale worked out to a six day week, taking no account of the six hours that are short of six hours of work, eight hours for six hours, would result, according to figures submitted to the Senate by coal operators, and which, so far as we have been informed, have not been controverted, would result in the instances of two typical mine employments here used for illustration thus—the first amounts being present daily wages for an eight hour day, the second the demanded daily wages for a six hour day, the third what would have to be paid for a six day week, Saturday being paid for as a holiday—that is, double wages:

Mule driver.....\$5.14 \$5.38 \$5.66
Shot driver.....5.32 5.51 5.77

What is incomprehensible in the moderation observed. Why not have declared Friday also a holiday, and Thursday and Wednesday and Tuesday, leaving only Monday a legal workday in order to have a normal wage unit, to be doubled for all other days?

Massachusetts Beat the Mob.

Governor COOLIDGE, running for reelection in Massachusetts on the Republican ticket, actually represented the forces of law and order not only in that Commonwealth but in all the States of the Union. In his jurisdiction the issue between government by the people and government by a small fraction of the people was brought to a focus in the policemen's strike. Governor COOLIDGE accepted it unflinchingly. He stood by the people, and at the polls the people stood by him, notwithstanding the elaborate campaign the beaten and disgraced former guardians of the peace in Boston made in behalf of LONE, the Democratic nominee. The extraordinary plurality given to Governor COOLIDGE is a plurality for freedom and for popular rule.

Governor COOLIDGE's splendid success means more than the reaffirmation by the electors of Massachusetts of their faith in popular government and their determination that the Government shall be supreme not only over some of the people but over all of the people. It means that malicious men promoting revolution, self seeking men using social unrest to serve their selfish ambitions, conscienceless politicians who seize on the lowest passions of the basest element in the community to win advancement, will be repudiated by the sensible and patriotic citizens who compose the overwhelming majority of the electorate in other States as they have been in Massachusetts.

Massachusetts, with a mixed population largely of foreign birth or recent alien extraction, was challenged by the mob. Governor COOLIDGE accepted the challenge in the name of the State and beat the mob back; and yesterday the electorate of Massachusetts gave its unquestioning and unmistakable verdict of approval of his course.

As the mob was beaten in Massachusetts so it will be beaten in other States. America has lost her respect for law and order and will stand by the public officers who perform their duties fearlessly.

It is conceivable that liberty would survive in New Jersey if that intervening State were to adopt an election code which would not make her returns about the latest to be compiled.

No Democratic candidate for President was seen emerging from yesterday's election returns.

There is hot rivalry among publishers for the manuscript of a book CHARLES F. MURPHY is reported to be writing, entitled "Safekeeping the Judiciary; or, The Difference Between a Primary and an Election."

Because Massachusetts has refused to change the system under which the Governor is elected every year she has been scolded repeatedly by those who believe in fewer elections and longer terms for office holders; but the early opportunity the election gave her people to write "Well done!" on the record of CALVIN COOLIDGE was worth something.

Kentucky elected a Republican Governor yesterday merely as a preliminary to going Republican in the Presidential contest next year.

If SAMUEL GOMPERS should run short of topics to think about he might spend a profitable half hour studying the election returns from Massachusetts.

The planman of Tammany Hall was seen last night inspecting his reserve stock. He seemed to be in pain.

The clearest message of the election to labor leaders is that there is already one big union, and its name is the American Union.

Perhaps the most effective campaign document was one which was never circulated—IRWIN UNTERMYER's draft questionnaire.

When two pugilists, coached by their managers, are working up public interest in their approaching ring contest they are severely reported rudely to "knock his block off," to "shatter his slats," and to indulge in other promises supposed to benefit gate receipts. Equally belligerent but more refined are utterances heard when distinguished gentlemen express their battle passions in the Senate. Mark these spirited leads, counters and upshots:

"Senator SHERMAN—I have never prayed in my life."
"Senator ROBINSON—Does not the Senator think it is about time he was beginning to pray?"

"Senator SHERMAN—Not upon the appearance of any such antagonist as the Senator from Arkansas. I can take care of him myself if God will let me alone."

How bountiful the English language in expression of the same lofty purpose in words that exhibit a difference without a distinction!

SPEEDWAY HOPES FADE.

Uptown Folks Wonder When They Will Be Able to Use the Drive.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—Sir: What provision has been made in the new budget for putting our expensively constructed Speedway in proper condition for use by the general public?

This is a question which is agitating the minds of people in Harlem, Washington Heights and Inwood, who have seen no official announcement that the matter has been adequately covered in the budget and have therefore been led to believe that nothing at all has been done about it and that the prospects of an early opening of a renovated Speedway have faded away in thin air.

The situation takes on a rather discouraging aspect when it is recalled that some months ago the Park Commissioner was credited with having said that the Speedway would not be opened until late in 1920. And its opening then was contingent on his request for funds for re-equiping the Speedway through an issue of corporate stock amounting to \$883,400 being acted on favorably by the Board of Estimate and the Finance and Budget Committee and a concurrent resolution by the Board of Aldermen.

Any one who has had occasion to use the Speedway recently will agree with the Park Commissioner that it is in such bad condition at the present time that it is unfit to be opened to the general public. And it is hardly to be desired that the city should be asked to expend \$883,400 to build and maintain, taxpayers appear justified in demanding a return for their money.

New York, November 4.

BOYHOOD PLEASURES.

A Grandfather Recalls Life in the Country When He Was Young.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—Sir: I note that the older people love to have recalled to their minds the things they enjoyed in their youth. Many such things fit through my mind, and very vividly at times.

What old boy does not remember those red top boots with copper toes and his trousers tucked in the boot legs? Then there were the home made sleds named Red Fox or Swift; home knitted mittens; fur caps made to turn down over the ears and with long poles in the woods for rabbits; horsehair straps for quills; red top skates with snags made by the harness maker and with rat tail flies used to gutter out the runners?

Then there was skating on the pond; putting on one's best skates, skating by the big red moonlight, getting warm by the fire, and then skating on the pond, going across the "weary ice." At home mother has some hot sump porridge and milk ready for you, and you go to bed in a feather bed and sink out of sight and sleep and dream of skates, ice and best girl.

And if you could have remained young and left all this bother of money making to those who seem to like it! Of course we had to do our stunts before we could go out and play. One boy would have to saw and split so much wood. One of my stunts was to memorize and recite a few verses of the Proverbs. Lord, how I loved to do that!

Saturdays we had all day to play, except the poor boys, and the rest of us turned to and helped them so they could be through with their chores and go with the rest of us. Glorious days of boyhood, precious memories of youth! I hope the boys of today, and the boys of tomorrow, will have some of the same pleasures. When I see my grandson enjoying his youthful sports I say: "This is my resurrection."

AMINGTON H. CARMAN.

PATCHOGUE, November 4.

A SUNDAY OUTING.

Attractions of Passaic Falls and Garret Mountain.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—Sir: Just now the Passaic Falls at Paterson in their autumn coloring are a beautiful sight which is well worth the trip over to see. If any of your readers are in want of a place to go for a Sunday afternoon outing here is a chance.

One can come over by automobile from any North River ferry, although the roads from the 19th street ferry and the Dyckman street ferry are the best. One can also take a motor car or come by trolley from 19th street or from any ferry going into Hoboken. The uptown ferry connects with the Hudson River trolley, which affords a beautiful ride to Paterson. The fare is about 50 cents.

It is about a half mile to the falls from the trolley terminal. After viewing the magnificent waterfall a walk rather than a ride along the river to Glover avenue, which is just a mile, a turn to the left, and you are headed for Garret Mountain. The view is a masterpiece. One can see the Blue Ridge system, an easy uphill walk of a mile and you are on top. Go to the front overlooking the city.

Here you can see the country for miles around. If it is a clear day look to the southeast and behold the towers of the Manhattan, Woolworth and Singer buildings as well as the towers of the bridges across the East River. Under your very feet you may find an old stone Indian arrowhead or other relics of the past which countless people walk over, not knowing what they are.

Some people may have nothing to sell and all to show. WRENCE FRANCIS.

PATERSON, November 4.

Vida Milholland Not in the Parade.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—Sir: In the interest of accuracy you will be good enough to correct a mistake made in your paper on Sunday, November 3.

I did not take part in the parade of American women protesting against the starvation blockade of Russia. I cannot accept credit or criticism for something I have not done.

VIDA MILHOLLAND.

New York, November 4.

The Day After.

Some candidates have won out. While others have "ex-ec." The lucky find the sun out. The shadow others vexes.

A paradox—the loss is to those who must suffer few. In number heavy counts. They take the count anew.

There's laughter and there's gnashing of teeth, but ducks now lame should cheer up at their gnashing. The world was quite the same.

MATTHEW MORRIS.

LABOR'S RESPONSIBILITY.

The Principles Which Should Shape Its Wage Agreements.

From the *Railroad Employee*. In the light of recent events it is a case of labor run riot. Agreements are made only to be broken; no guarantee in good ever night; no promise worth the value of a grain of sand. Employers are unable to figure their labor costs from day to day or know what the morning may bring forth. Confusion and disorganization reign in the marts of trade and centres of commerce, where peace and prosperity should obtain through a fixed and understandable relationship between the man who works and the man who pays.